*539 /106 cont./
Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, and he is named (6)

•[193]

6. Here the interpreter uses the present indicative of the verb llamarse /"to be called" or "to be named"/; he discontinues in this form the use of the imperfect indicative of the same verb.

Yepára Suĺ, and these people were the ones who made the money for all the Tukano. The money used by the Tukano were feathers of all kinds. Feathers represented wealth for the Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, and he is named Ajúsiro Sóbaro, who was the first lieutenant of all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, and he is named Yúpuri Pamó, and he was the architect of all the malocas (houses) of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, who was named Yepára Merú, and this was the corps (musicians) for the official feasts. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, who is named Doétiro Mimisipé, and he is the maker of fine articles: such as mamatisjé (this means paint for the face, and in Geral is called carayurú), such as perfumes of all kinds and fine herbs of every kind for beautifying all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, and he is named Ajkĺto Patĺro, and he was the propagandist of the politics of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, who is named Kemáru Kukú, and he was like a captain of the army of the Tukano, but Ajúsiro Sóbaro gave orders to Kemáru Kukú. From Diaojpekowĺ came another man, who is named Urémiri Sáraro, and he was in charge of all the Republic of the Tukano, he was a kind of Ministro de Gobierno /Minister of Government/ (7).

7. Example of transculturization.

And he was in charge of all the land of the Tukano; and this same gentleman was in charge of and guarded the spirits of Yuruparĺ,

/138 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language: first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 [192] [196]

Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /13[illegible]/ ultimate: they would say, more concretely: the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa-ti-kãgõ masc., yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, fem., yaxpa-ti-kãra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kãse, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

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The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

/337/

782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to WĪx-tĪ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of WĪx-tĪ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, MĪrĪ (or MĪnĪ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the MĪrĪ is maxsĪ, people. In the plural it becomes MĪrĪá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192]
•[193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

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clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aünbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aünkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehéneŵa* was *Djurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehéneŵa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänŵa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehéneŵa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byarí-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byarídowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *ainheme* (*ain*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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4

Kinship

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
• [93] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

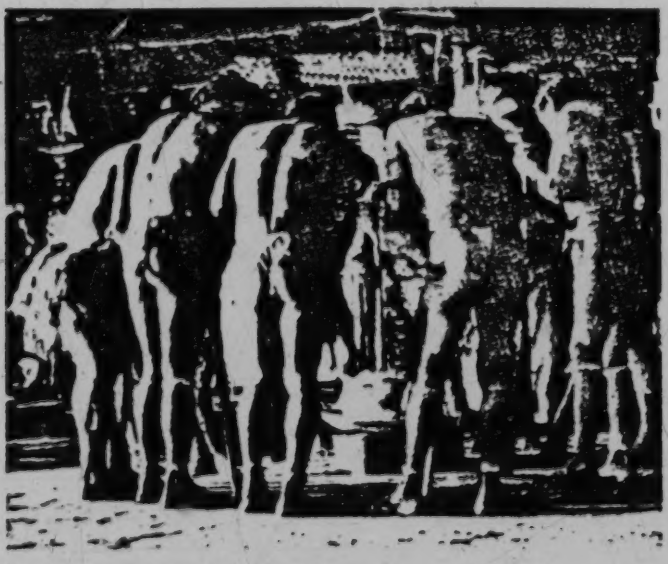

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects.

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more-distant category.

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakũ*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimã* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikũ-híko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikũ* and *híko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikũ* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihíkũ*. But this form does not exist.

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúrí* have souls after death in the form of the *bauvéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekókũ* (dream man) or *pwánkũ dekókũ* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekókũ* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekókũ*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manioc. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

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[3] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 756 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

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Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different

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197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

• 193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and that appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

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191 linguistic innovations to this end. Here, however, I run the risk of overstating the dialect problem. As Weinreich has pointed out (1961: section 1.3), the learning of a new dialect presents the same situation as the learning of a new language.

• 193 The Eastern Tukanoan languages clearly share the same syntax. By this I mean that they share the same types of multiword constructions. For example, they share a preference for a series of clauses in parataxis with a strong avoidance of hypotaxis; the same preferred (and not rigidly fixed) word order prevails (subject-object-verb); the same kinds of multiword constructions are used as techniques for apposition, statements of purpose, and "afterthought" statements of consequences or conditions; the same procedure is followed for developing a discourse topic, the sentence being prolonged by clauses in parataxis so as to provide more and more specificity to an original proposition stated in a main, and usually first, clause; listeners show the same pattern of response, attentively, politely, or distinterestedly repeating the last verb of the speaker's sentence. (I do not have enough material from languages of the other Indian language families to be able to comment on their

191 syntaxes.) It is important for this discussion that Indian speakers do not ascribe the Tukanoan type of syntax to Spanish. Neither is the full syntactic range of Spanish as used by Colombian non-Indian Spanish-speakers found in the Indians' Spanish. As a result of much Spanish-to-Tukano and Tukano-to-Spanish work with informants, I can say that the Indians' Spanish is spoken in shorter and more numerous sentences than is the normal case in either Spanish or Tukano; dependent clauses are mostly lacking, with sentences supplied instead in an approximation of the paratactic subordinate clause of Tukano.

Further evidence comes from the response of Indians to metalinguistic questions. Monolingual Spanish-speakers, when quizzing Indians for forms in their language, typically ask for the forms one word at a time, following the order of the Spanish sentence (which may be phrased quite elegantly to ensure getting elegant Tukano). The translation process breaks down almost immediately; new Tukano forms for former Tukano forms are given as the Spanish sentence progresses, and the Spanish-speaker decides the Indian must be very indeterminate in whatever he says. The actual

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The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

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Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the diffgrent syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

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Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

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